

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 SANTIA 04371 121222Z  
ACTION HA-05

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 ISO-00 OES-07 ACDA-12 NSC-05

CIAE-00 EUR-12 H-01 INR-10 IO-13 L-03 NSAE-00

OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11

TRSE-00 DODE-00 DOE-15 SOE-02 NRC-05 /138 W

-----031385 121332Z /75

R 091450Z JUN 78

FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9479

S E C R E T SANTIAGO 4371

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, TECH, SHUM, CI

SUBJ: CHILE NUCLEAR ISSUE

REFS: (A) SANTIAGO 3612, (B) STATE 141207

1. SUMMARY: THE CONFLICTS BETWEEN USG HUMAN RIGHTS AND NUCLEAR OBJECTIVES ARE MORE APPARENT THAN REAL. WE DOUBT THAT PINOCHET IS IN ANY POSITION TO MAKE A NUCLEAR PROPOSAL NOW. IF HE DOES, WE CAN DELAY OUR RESPONSE UNTIL HIS FUTURE IS CLARIFIED, AND TO JUDGE THE HUMAN RIGHTS CONSIDERATIONS. NOR IS THE FUTURE OF REDEMOCRATIZATION LIKELY TO BE AFFECTED BY SUCH AN AGREEMENT. AND, IF PINOCHET GOES, HIS SUCCESSOR WILL PROBABLY FACE THE SAME NEED TO REVISE CHILE'S NUCLEAR POLICY. END SUMMARY.

2. THIS EMBASSY DID NOT MAKE SUFFICIENTLY CLEAR IN REFTEL (A) THAT THE INFORMATION OBTAINED ON A PROBABLE CHANGE IN THE GOC'S NUCLEAR POLICY WAS PROVIDED WITHOUT THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE GOC. AT THIS TIME WE HAVE ONLY THE WORD OF ONE WELL-PLACED INFORMANT THAT THE GOC IS GOING TO APPROACH US ALONG THE LINES SET FORTH IN REFTEL. UNTIL THAT HAPPENS THE QUESTIONS POSED IN REFTEL (B) ARE THEORETICAL. IF THE PROPOSAL IS MADE THE GOC, NOT SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SANTIA 04371 121222Z

KNOWING WE ARE WITTING, CANNOT REASONABLY EXPECT AN IMMEDIATE RESPONSE. WE CAN TIME OUR RESPONSE TO ACCOMMODATE HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY CONSIDERATIONS AS WE THEN ASSESS THEM.

3. WILL PINOCHET MAKE THE PROPOSAL? WE ARE SKEPTICAL FOR THE NEAR TERM. IN URGING THE CHANGE IN POLICY FOREIGN

MINISTER CUBILLOS WAS CERTAINLY LOOKING AT THE POTENTIAL INTERNATIONAL GAIN, PARTICULARLY IN TERMS OF RELATIONS WITH THE US. ON THE OTHER HAND, AS CUBILLOS HAS REPEATEDLY EMPHASIZED TO THE AMBASSADOR, PINOCHET IS UNDER STRONG PRESSURE FROM HIS HARD-LINE SUPPORTERS NOT TO SACRIFICE CHILE'S VITAL NATIONAL INTERESTS (AS THEY PERCEIVE THEM) FOR THE SAKE OF HIS PERSONAL SURVIVAL. WITH THE CRUNCH-POINT OF LETELIER/MOFFITT ASSASSINATION INDICTMENTS FAST APPROACHING, AND THE LIKELIHOOD OF EXTRADITION REQUESTS THEREAFTER, PINOCHET IS SEVERELY WEAKENED. HE MAY SURVIVE, BUT FOR THE MOMENT HE IS NOT IN A GOOD POSTURE FOR A MAJOR NUCLEAR INITIATIVE. IT WOULD WEAKEN HIS SUPPORT AMONG CONSERVATIVES AND BE DISCOUNTED AS A SURVIVAL PLOY BY LIBERAL CRITICS.

4. IF, CONTRARY TO THE REASONING IN THE PRECEDING PARAGRAPH, THE GOC DOES APPROACH US IN THE NEXT WEEK OR TWO WITH A REFTEL (A) TYPE PROPOSAL WE WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY WANT TO POSTPONE A RESPONSE UNTIL AFTER THE LETELIER INDICTMENTS/EXTRADITION REQUESTS HAVE PLAYED THROUGH THE GOC POLITICAL EQUATION -- BUT ON THE GROUNDS THAT A MAJOR INITIATIVE REQUIRES A STABLE GOVERNMENT. WE ARE NOT PERSUADED THAT WHETHER PINOCHET STAYS OR GOES DEPENDS IN ANY SIGNIFICANT DEGREE ON HIS MAKING SUCH A PROPOSAL OR OUR ACCEPTANCE THEREOF. THE NUCLEAR PROPOSAL, IF MADE, IS SELF-BALANCING: ADHERENCE TO NPT, FULL PARTI-

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 SANTIA 04371 121222Z

CIPATION IN TLATELOLCO AND APPLICATION OF TOTAL SAFEGUARDS AS A CONDITION FOR US NUCLEAR FUEL AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE. IT WOULD NOT CONSTITUTE A RESUMPTION OF ANYTHING SUSPENDED ON HUMAN RIGHTS GROUNDS. THE USG SHOULD BE ABLE TO EXPLAIN AND STRUCTURE ITS ACCEPTANCE OF A GOC NUCLEAR PROPOSAL IN SUCH A WAY AS TO MAKE CLEAR THAT OUR HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS AND OBJECTIVES REMAIN UNCHANGED. IF PINOCHET SURVIVES THE NEAR TERM AND THEN MAKES THE NUCLEAR PROPOSAL, WE SHOULD JUMP AT THE OPPORTUNITY.

5. WHAT IF THERE IS A NEW GOVERNMENT? WERE PINOCHET TO GO, HIS SUCCESSOR WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY BE A MILITARY MAN FACING THE SAME NUCLEAR POLICY REALITIES, AND, THE NEED TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THE US. THE LOGIC OF ADHERING TO THE NPT AND REMOVING RESERVATIONS ON THE TLATELOLCO TREATY IN RETURN FOR US NUCLEAR ASSISTANCE WOULD IN ALL LIKELIHOOD PREVAIL. WE DO NOT, THEREFORE, BELIEVE THAT AN OPPORTUNITY WOULD BE LOST.  
LANDAU

NOTE BY OCT: MESSAGE DELAYED IN TRANSMISSION.

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NNN

## Message Attributes

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**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** POLICIES, HUMAN RIGHTS, NUCLEAR COOPERATION PROGRAMS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
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**Subject:** CHILE NUCLEAR ISSUE  
**TAGS:** PARM, TECH, SHUM, CI, US  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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